



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

V.—*The Sounds o and u in English.*

By BENJAMIN W. WELLS, PH. D.,

FRIENDS' SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

IN this paper I propose to examine the history and development of the short sounds of lower pitch than *a*. In Old Germanic these may be supposed to be *o* and *u*; in OE. they are *o*, *eó*, *u*, and *y*; in NE. they are represented by the sounds heard in *not*, *nut*, *worth*; but I shall consider together with these the sounds O<sup>a</sup>, O, U, I, and the diphthongs *ai* and *au* in order to complete in this paper the history of NE. sounds begun in 1881 and continued in the paper published in the Transactions for 1885. For the same reason all NE. letters, not there treated, will be treated in this place. These are, *o*, *oa*, *oe*, *oo*, *ou*, *u*, *ue*. There will then only remain, to complete the history of OE. vowel sounds, to examine the development of the OE. long vowels and the history of long vowels in OG.

## SYNOPSIS.

|  | Page |  | Page |
|--|------|--|------|
| Introduction . . . . .   | 47   | Section III.—Development of OE. <i>o</i> ,<br><i>eó</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>y</i> , in NE. . . . . | 60   |
| Section I.—Old Germanic Vowels . . . . .                           | 49   | A. 1. OE. <i>o</i> = NE. <i>o</i> (cot) . . . . .  | 60   |
| A. OG. <i>o</i> = OE. <i>o</i> . . . . .                           | 49   | 2. OE. <i>o</i> = NE. O (coal) . . . . .   | 61   |
| B. OG. <i>o</i> = OE. <i>u</i> . . . . .                           | 51   | 3. OE. <i>o</i> = NE. O <sup>a</sup> (bore) . . . . .  | 62   |
| C. OG. <i>o</i> = OE. <i>y</i> . . . . .                           | 53   | 4. OE. <i>o</i> = NE. <i>oe</i> (word) . . . . .   | 62   |
| D. 1. OG. <i>u</i> = OE. <i>u</i> . . . . .                        | 54   | 5. OE. <i>o</i> = NE. U (womb) . . . . .   | 62   |
| 2. OG. <i>un</i> = OE. <i>ū</i> . . . . .                          | 55   | 6. OE. <i>o</i> = NE. <i>u</i> (should) . . . . .  | 62   |
| E. OG. <i>u</i> = OE. <i>o</i> . . . . .                           | 55   | 7. OE. <i>o</i> = NE. <i>ea</i> (welkin) . . . . .   | 62   |
| F. OG. <i>u</i> = OE. <i>y</i> . . . . .                           | 56   | 8. NE. spellings for OE. <i>o</i> . . . . .  | 62   |
| G. OG. <i>u</i> = OE. <i>ū</i> . . . . .                           | 57   | B. 1. OE. <i>u</i> = <i>oe</i> (up) . . . . .  | 63   |
| Section II.—Origin of OE. <i>o</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>y</i> . . . . . | 58   | 2. OE. <i>u</i> = <i>au</i> (hound) . . . . .  | 63   |
| A. 1. OE. <i>o</i> = OG. <i>o</i> . . . . .                        | 58   | 3. OE. <i>u</i> = <i>u</i> (full) . . . . .  | 63   |
| 2. OE. <i>o</i> = OG. <i>u</i> . . . . .                           | 58   | 4. OE. <i>u</i> = U (groom) . . . . .  | 64   |
| 3. OE. <i>o</i> = OG. <i>a</i> . . . . .                           | 58   | 5. OE. <i>u</i> = O <sup>a</sup> (door) . . . . .  | 64   |
| 4. OE. <i>o</i> from svarabhakti. . . . .                          | 58   | 6. OE. <i>u</i> = O (shoulder) . . . . .   | 64   |
| 5. OE. <i>o</i> from <i>w</i> + vowel . . . . .                    | 58   | 7. OE. <i>u</i> = <i>i</i> (hip) and <i>o</i> (knock) . . . . .                                | 64   |
| 6. OE. <i>eó</i> from <i>o</i> . . . . .                           | 58   | 8. NE. spellings for OE. <i>u</i> . . . . .  | 64   |
| B. 1. OE. <i>u</i> = OG. <i>o</i> . . . . .                        | 59   | C. 1. OE. <i>y</i> = <i>i</i> (pit) . . . . .  | 64   |
| 2. OE. <i>u</i> = OG. <i>u</i> . . . . .                           | 59   | 2. OE. <i>y</i> = <i>ai</i> (kind) . . . . .   | 64   |
| 3. OE. <i>u</i> from <i>w</i> . . . . .                            | 59   | 3. OE. <i>y</i> = <i>oe</i> (birth) . . . . .  | 64   |
| C. 1. OE. <i>y</i> from OG. <i>o</i> . . . . .                     | 59   | 4. OE. <i>y</i> = <i>ea</i> (bury) . . . . .   | 65   |
| 2. OE. <i>y</i> from OG. <i>u</i> . . . . .                        | 60   | 5. OE. <i>y</i> = I (evil) . . . . .   | 65   |
| Note, <i>y</i> from <i>un</i> . . . . .                            | 60   |  |      |

|   | Page |  | Page |
|---|------|--|------|
| 6. NE. spellings for OE. <i>y</i> . . . . .                   | 65   | E. 1. <i>oe</i> = OE. <i>i</i> . . . . .   | 69   |
| Section IV. — NE. Sounds . . . . .                            | 65   | 2. <i>oe</i> = OE. <i>e</i> . . . . .  | 69   |
| A. 1. <i>au</i> = OE. <i>ū</i> . . . . .                      | 65   | 3. <i>oe</i> = OE. <i>ie</i> . . . . .   | 69   |
| 2. <i>au</i> = OE. <i>u</i> . . . . .                         | 65   | 4. <i>oe</i> = OE. <i>eo</i> . . . . .   | 69   |
| 3. <i>au</i> = OE. <i>ō</i> . . . . .                         | 65   | 5. <i>oe</i> = OE. <i>ea</i> . . . . .   | 69   |
| 4. Spelling of <i>au</i> in NE. . . . .                       | 66   | 6. <i>oe</i> = OE. <i>a</i> . . . . .  | 69   |
| B. 1. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>a</i> . . . . .                      | 66   | 7. <i>oe</i> = OE. <i>o</i> . . . . .  | 69   |
| 2. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>ea</i> . . . . .                        | 66   | 8. <i>oe</i> = OE. <i>u</i> . . . . .  | 69   |
| 3. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>ed</i> . . . . .                        | 66   | 9. <i>oe</i> = OE. <i>y</i> . . . . .  | 69   |
| 4. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>æ</i> . . . . .                         | 66   | 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. <i>oe</i> = OE. <i>eo</i> ,<br><i>ie</i> , <i>æ</i> , <i>ā</i> , <i>ō</i> , <i>ū</i> . . . . . | 69   |
| 5. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>éo</i> . . . . .                        | 66   | 16. Spellings of <i>oe</i> in NE. . . . .  | 69   |
| 6. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>o</i> . . . . .                         | 66   | F. 1. <i>U</i> = OE. <i>o</i> , <i>æ</i> , <i>ā</i> , <i>ēa</i> , <i>ēo</i> . . . . .                                  | 70   |
| 7. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>u</i> . . . . .                         | 66   | 2, 3, 4. <i>U</i> = OE. <i>u</i> , <i>ō</i> , <i>ū</i> . . . . .   | 70   |
| 8. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>æ</i> . . . . .                         | 66   | 5. Spelling of <i>U</i> in NE. . . . .   | 71   |
| 9. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>ā</i> . . . . .                         | 66   | G. 1, 2. <i>u</i> = OE. <i>o</i> , <i>u</i> . . . . .  | 71   |
| 10. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>ēa</i> . . . . .                       | 66   | 3. <i>u</i> = OE. <i>i</i> , <i>ē</i> , <i>ā</i> . . . . .   | 71   |
| 11. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>eū</i> . . . . .                       | 66   | 4, 5. <i>u</i> = OE. <i>ō</i> , <i>ū</i> . . . . .   | 71   |
| 12. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>ēo</i> . . . . .                       | 66   | H. 1, 2. <i>I</i> = OE. <i>i</i> , <i>ié</i> . . . . .   | 72   |
| 13. <i>Oa</i> = OE. <i>ō</i> . . . . .                        | 66   | 3. <i>I</i> = OE. <i>e</i> . . . . .   | 72   |
| 14. Spelling of <i>Oa</i> in NE. . . . .                      | 67   | 4, 5, 6, 7. <i>I</i> = OE. <i>éo</i> , <i>éa</i> , <i>æ</i> , <i>y</i> . . . . .                                       | 72   |
| C. 1. <i>O</i> = OE. <i>ea</i> . . . . .                      | 67   | 8, 9. <i>I</i> = OE. <i>ē</i> , <i>ie</i> . . . . .  | 72   |
| 2. <i>O</i> = OE. <i>æ</i> . . . . .                          | 67   | 10, 11. <i>I</i> = OE. <i>ēa</i> , <i>ēo</i> . . . . .   | 72   |
| 3. <i>O</i> = OE. <i>ā</i> . . . . .                          | 67   | 12, 13. <i>I</i> = OE. <i>æ</i> . . . . .  | 72   |
| 4. <i>O</i> = OE. <i>éo</i> . . . . .                         | 67   | 14. Spellings of <i>I</i> in NE. . . . .   | 73   |
| 5. <i>O</i> = OE. <i>ēa</i> . . . . .                         | 67   | I. 1. <i>ai</i> = OE. <i>i</i> , <i>y</i> . . . . .  | 73   |
| 6. <i>O</i> = OE. <i>ēo</i> . . . . .                         | 67   | 2. <i>ai</i> = OE. <i>i</i> , <i>y</i> , <i>ēa</i> , <i>ēo</i> , <i>ie</i> . . . . .                                   | 73   |
| 7. <i>O</i> = OE. <i>u</i> . . . . .                          | 67   | 3. Spelling of <i>ai</i> in NE. . . . .  | 74   |
| 8. <i>O</i> = OE. <i>o</i> . . . . .                          | 67   | Section V. — NE. Letters . . . . .   | 74   |
| 9. <i>O</i> = OE. <i>ō</i> . . . . .                          | 67   | A. <i>au</i> and <i>aw</i> . . . . .   | 74   |
| 10. Spelling of <i>O</i> in NE. . . . .                       | 68   | B. <i>o</i> . . . . .  | 74   |
| D. 1. <i>o</i> = OE. <i>a</i> , <i>æ</i> , <i>e</i> . . . . . | 68   | C. <i>oa</i> . . . . .   | 75   |
| 2. <i>o</i> = OE. <i>ea</i> . . . . .                         | 68   | D. <i>oe</i> . . . . .   | 75   |
| 3. <i>o</i> = OE. <i>éo</i> . . . . .                         | 68   | E. <i>oo</i> . . . . .   | 75   |
| 4. <i>o</i> = OE. <i>u</i> . . . . .                          | 68   | F. <i>ou</i> , <i>ow</i> . . . . .   | 76   |
| 5. <i>o</i> = OE. <i>o</i> . . . . .                          | 68   | G. <i>u</i> . . . . .  | 76   |
| 6. <i>o</i> = OE. <i>ā</i> . . . . .                          | 68   | H. <i>ue</i> . . . . .   | 77   |
| 7. <i>o</i> = OE. <i>ō</i> . . . . .                          | 68   |  |      |
| 8. Spelling of <i>o</i> in NE. . . . .                        | 68   |  |      |

No OE. words that can be traced to roots with the vowel *a* in Indo-European are regarded as having developed an *i* or *u* in OG. Words from *a*-roots therefore, whether they show in OE. *o*, *u*, *y*, *ū*, or *ȳ*, are regarded as derived from OG. words with *o*. This is justified by the cognate dialects. On the other hand, all words from Indo-European *u*-roots are regarded as retaining that vowel in OG., whatever sound they may assume in OE. This also is justified by the cognate dialects. We have then first to consider the development of Indo-European *a* = OG. *o*.

SECTION I. — OLD GERMANIC VOWELS.<sup>1</sup>

A. — OG. *o* = OE. *o*. OG. *o* is retained in OE. before liquids, mutes, and fricatives. In some cases, however, *o* before liquids becomes *u* (see § I, B), and in all *-i* and *-ja* stems it undergoes umlaut to *y* (see § I, C).

bolla, ON. bolli: cp. OHG. botōn and ON. ballo, böllr, Gr. φάλλος; F. 209.

bolster, ON. bōlstr, from the same root; F. 209.

bolt, ON. bolti, OHG. bolt, from the same root; F. 209.

bord, G. baurd, ON. borð, from beran, I, b; F. 203.

brord (breord, briord, brerd), ON. broddr, OHG. brort and prart:

cp. ἄφλαστον, fastigium, and Skr. bhṛshti; F. 207, Schade 85.

cnotta, ON. knūttr, OHG. chnodo, Lat. nōdus, Skr. gaṇḍa; F. 49.

col, ON. kol, OHG. kols: cp. Root gvar? F. 48.

dor, ON. dyrr, G. daur, OHG. tor, Lat. foras, Skr. dvāra; F. 151.

dolg, ON. dōlg, OHG. tolc (G. dulgs?); F. 152.

fola, ON. foli, G. fula, OHG. folo, Gr. πῶλος; IE. R. pal; F. 181.

Lat. pullus is another word.

folc, ON. fōlk, OHG. folc, R. par; Schade 210, F. 189.

folgian, ON. fylgia, OHG. folgōn, R. park; Schade 210, F. 182.

folm, OHG. folma, Lat. palmus, Gr. παλάμη; F. 181.

for, ON. for, OHG. fora, Lat. proe, Skr. pra; F. 176.

forma, ON. frum, OS. formo, Gr. προμος, Skr. parama; F. 177.

OE. also fruma, see I, B, and *fēorma*, Leo, Glossar, 537.

frox, ON. froskr, OHG. frosc: cp. OE. froga, frogca; F. 192.

god, ON. G. guð, OHG. got; F. 107, Schade 342.

gold, G. gulp, ON. gull, goll, OHG. gold, Old Bulg. zlato; F. 103.

gor, ON. gor, OHG. gor, Lat. haru-spex, Gr. χολαξ; F. 102.

hoga, ON. hugr, G. hugo, Lat. cunctari, Skr. çank; Schade 428, F. 77.

hol, ON. holr, OHG. hol, from OG. helan, I, b; F. 70.

holm, ON. hōlmr, OS. holm, Lat. culmen, Gr. κολωνός, R. kal;

Schade 414, F. 71.

<sup>1</sup> In the list which follows, and in all others in this paper, the cognate words are given from the other Germanic dialects only so far as is necessary to fix the OG. form, and other related words are added from the other languages to fix the primitive root. Further details may be found in the places referred to at the close of each series of words, where F. stands for the third volume of Fick's Vergleichendes Wörterbuch and Schade for his Alt-deutsches Wörterbuch, 2d edition. No words, not Old Germanic, have been admitted, so that many familiar words do not appear in the lists, which are, however, intended to be complete.

holt, ON. holt, OHG. holz, Gr. κλάδος ; F. 72.

horn, ON. horn, OHG. horn, Lat. cornu, R. kar, Skr. çar ; F. 67.

hors, ON. hross, OS. hros, OHG. ros : cp. Lat. curro, Skr. car ; Schade 426, F. 66.

horsc, ON. horskr, OHG. horsc : cp. Lat. coruscus and OE. hors ; F. 66.

hose, ON. hosa, OHG. hosā, Old Bulg. košulja ; F. 80.

molde, G. mulda : cp. Lat. molere ; Schade 619, F. 235.

morgen, ON. morginn, G. maurgins : cp. Lith. merkti ; Schade 620, F. 243.

norð, ON. norð, OHG. nord, Lith. nerti : cp. ON. Niörðr ; Schade 656, F. 166.

ofen, ON. ofn, OHG. ofen : cp. G. auhns ; F. 32.

ortgæard, G. aurtigards, ON. urti : cp. wyr, I, C ; F. 35.

oter, ON. otr, OHG. ottir, Lith. udra, Skr. udra : cp. OE. waeter ; F.

33.

scort, sceórt, ON. skortr, OHG. skurz ; F. 338.

spor, ON. spor, OHG. spor : cp. Lat. speonere, Gr. σπαρω, R. spar ; F. 353.

spora, OH. spori, OHG. sporo : cp. OE. spor ; F. 353.

stocc, ON. stokkr, OHG. stoc, from OG. stekan, I, a ; F. 343.

storm, ON. stormr, OHG. sturm, R. star ; Schade 888, F. 346.

top, ON. toppr, OHG. zoph : cp. OHG. zapho, zepho ; Schade 1294, F. 117.

þolian, ON. þola, G. þulan, OHG. dolēn, R. tal ; F. 133, and also I. 94, 601, II. 105.

þorp, ON. þorp, G. þaurp, Lith. troba, O. Irish a-treb ; F. 138.

þorn, ON. þorn, OHG. dorn ; F. 131, Schade 197.

þroht, ON. þrötr : cp. OE. þracian and Gr. Τάπρος, Skr. tarj ; F. 138.

word, ON. orð, G. waurd, OHG. wort, Lith. vardas, Lat. verbum : cp.

Gr. ἐρέω ; Schade 1200, F. 307.

To these must be added the past participles of verbs of Class I, before liquids (*þoren*, *dwolen*, *scoren*, *stolen*, *toren*, *þworen*, of I, b, and *bolgen*, *bollen*, *borgen*, *borcen*, *bormen*, *bors-ten*, *corfen*, *dolfen*, *dorfen*, *fohten*, *folgen*, *gollen*, *golden*, *golpen*, *gorren*, *holpen*, *hworren*, *hworfen*, *molcen*, *molten*, *mornen*, *solcen*, *sorden*, *spornen*, *storfen*, *swolgen*, *swollen*, *swolten*, *sworfen*, *sworcen*, *tolden*, *worpen*, *worden*, of I, c), and also *brocen*, *troden*, I, a ; *broden*, *stroden*, *þroscen*, I, c. The pre-

terits of *scēal* and *dēar*, *scolde* and *dorste* are to be named here, though these are not properly from OG. *o*. See *durran*, *sculan*, in § I, B.

Absorbed *w* has produced *o* in OG. in *dor*, *ortgēard*, *oter*, just as later on it produces *o* in *comon*, G. *qiman* and *corðor* OHG. *quartar*; Schade 692. *W* is also absorbed in *hund*, *sund*, § I, B, 1, and in *dyn*, *dynnan*, § I, c.

When final, this *o* becomes *ō*. Hence we have :—

tō, OHG. *zuo*, G. *du*, Lith. *da*, Gr. -δε; Schade 1221.

B. — OG. *o* becomes *u* before nasals (except where umlaut takes place), and exceptionally in other words. In a few cases *on* becomes *ū*. Under this head come past participles of I, c (*bunden*, *druncen*, *funden*, *gunnen*, *grunden*, *grummen*, *hlummen*, *hrumpen*, *hrunden*, *cunnen*, *clumben*, *clungen*, *crungen*, *crummen*, *cwuncen*, *lunnen*, *lumpen*, *runnen*, *sungen*, *sun-cen*, *sunnen*, *scruncen*, *slungen*, *sluncen*, *spunnen*, *sprungen*, *stungen*, *stuncen*, *swummen*, *swunden*, *swungen*, *swuncen*, *tungen*, *punden*, *pungen*, *prunden*, *prungen*, *wunden*, *wunnen*, *wrun-gen*) and *numen*, *cumen* of I, b. But the preterit plural of verbs of I, c and the preterit presents *mugan*, *munan*, *sculan*, *durran*, *cunnan*, are not from any Indo-European vowel, but developed from svarabhakti. See Transactions, Vol. XIII, p. 67. They are however mentioned here as cases of OE. *u* in words whose roots have *a* in Indo-European.

Other cases of OG. *o* = OE. *u* are as follows :—

1. Before nasals.

*bruna*, *burna*, ON. *brunnr*, OHG. *brunns*, from OG. *brennan*, I, c; F. 206.

*dung*, OHG. *tunga*: cp. OE. *dyng*, ON. *dyngja*, Lith. *deñkti*, R. *dang*; Schade 970, F. 149.

*grund*, ON. *grunnr*, OHG. *grunt*: cp. OE. *grindan*; F. 111.

*guma*, ON. *gumi*, OHG. *gomo*, Lat. *homo*; Schade 341, F. 108.

*hund-red*, ON. *hundrað*, OHG. *hundert*, Lat. *centum*, Gr. *ἑκατόν*, Skr. *çatām*; F. 79.

*hund*, G. *hunds*, OHG. *hunt*, Lat. *canis*, Skr. *çvan*; Schade 431, F. 78.

*hunig*, ON. *hunāng*, OHG. *honag*: cp. Gr. *κόνις*, Skr. *kana*; F. 78.

See also Schade 415 for another etymology.

lunge, ON. lunga, OHG. lungā, R. langh ; Schade 345, F. 264.  
mund, ON. mond, OHG. munt : cp. Lat. manus ; Schade 626, F.  
231.

stund, ON. stund, OHG. stunt, from OG. stengan, I, c ; F. 344.  
stunian, ON. stynja : cp. OHG. stunod, and OE. gestun, Gr. στρόνος,  
Skr. -shṭana, R. stan ; Schade 887, F. 344.

sumor, ON. sumar, Skr. samā ; F. 326, Schade 891.

sund, ON. sund, OHG. sunt : cp. OHG. sunft. All from OG. swem-  
man, OE. swimman ; F. 362.

tunge, ON. tunga, G. tuggō, OHG. zungā, Lat. lingua, R. daugh ; F.  
123, Schade 1301.

tungol, G. tuggl, ON. tungl, OHG. zungal : cp. OE. tunge ; F. 123.

ḡunian : cp. OE. ḡunor. Not elsewhere in Germanic, but identical  
with Lat. tonāre, Skr. tanyatā ; F. 130.

ḡunor, ON. þōrr, OHG. donar, see ḡunian ; F. 130.

under, ON. undir, G. undar, Lat. inferus, Skr. adhara ; Schade 1048,  
F. 38.

undern, ON. undurn, OHG. untorn : cp. under ; Schade 1051, F.  
34.

wund, ON. und, OHG. wunta, from OE. winnan, I, c ; F. 287-8.

wundor, ON. undr, OHG. wuntar, R. van ; Schade 213, F. 306 ; or  
perhaps from the Keltish. Leo, Glossar, 184.

## 2. Before an absorbed nasal, producing *ū*.

fūs, ON. fuss, OHG. funs : cp. OE. findan, I, c ; F. 173.

gūð, ON. gunnr, OHG. gund- : cp. Skr. ghāta ; F. 99.

mūð, ON. munnr, OHG. munt, Lat. mentum ; F. 231.

ḡūhte, preterit of ḡyncan, I, c ; F. 128.

## 3. Before liquids we find *u* for the regular *o* in the follow- ing :—

burg, *also* byrig, G. baurgs, OHG. burch : cp. OE. béorgan, I, c ; F.  
207.

duru, G. daurō, OHG. turi, Skr. dvara ; F. 151.

full, ON. fullr, OHG. vol : cp. Lat. plenus, R. par ; Schade 231 ; F.  
179.

full, ON. full, OS. ful, from the preceding ; F. 179.

turf, ON. torf, OHG. zurba, Skr. darbhās, R. darbh ; F. 119. Cp.  
OE. torfjan, but torf is not found.

ḡurst *and* ḡyrst, ON. ḡyrstr, OHG. durst, R. tars : cp. Lat. torreo, Gr.  
τάρσος, Skr. tarsh.

wulf, ON. ulfr, OHG. wolf, Lat. lupus, Skr. vṛkr, R. vark ; F. 307.

wull, ON. ull, OHG. wolla, Lat. vella, R. var ; Schade 1197, F. 298.

To these may be added : *buluca*, from \**bola*, ON. *boli*, from OE. *bellan*, I, c, F. 208, and *clucge*, ON. *klukka*, OHG. *kloccā*, from the Keltish *clog* and *clock* ; F. 53.

C. — OG. *o* = OE. *y*. This occurs in *-i* and *-ja* stems, whether the vowel would have been *o* or *u* in OE. If the vowel would have been *ū*, I, B, 2, the umlaut is *ȳ*. The *i* or *j* which causes the umlaut is sometimes confined to the OE., as will appear by the following examples.

1. Before nasals :—

cynn, ON. kyn, G. kunja-, OHG. chunni, Lat. genius, R. kan ; F. 39.

cynig, ON. konungr ; from the preceding ; F. 39.

dyng, dyngung, OHG. tunc, tungunga ; presupposed by ON. dyngja :

cp. Lith. deñgti, R. dang ; Schade 970, F. 149.

dynt, ON. dyntr, from OG. dentan, I, c ; F. 144.

gryn, ON. grunr, OHG. grunnī ; Schade 354, F. 111.

-mynd, G. -munds, Lat. mens, R. man ; F. 229, Schade 625, Skeat,

Etym. Dict. 368.

tynder, ON. tundr, OHG. zunterā : cp. G. tandjan ; Schade 1284, F.

117.

þyna, ON. þunnr, OHG. dunni : cp. G. þanjan ; F. 130.

þyncan, G. þugkjan, OHG. dunchan ; F. 128.

ymbe, ON. umb, OS. umbi, Gr. ἀμφί, Lat. ambi ; F. 38.

2. OG. *on* becomes *ȳ* in the following :—

fȳsan, ON. fȳsa, from fūs, B, 2 ; F. 173.

fȳst, OHG. fūst, Lat. pugnus, Gr. πύξ, O. Bulg. pęsti ; Schade 236,

F. 187, J. Schmidt, Vocalismus, 167.

3. Before liquids, fricatives, and mutes :—

blys and blysan, ON. blȳs ; F. 219.

brycg, ON. bryggja, OHG. brukka : cp. Gaelic briva ; F. 218.

bryrdan, ON. brydda, OHG. brortjan, from OE. brord ; F. 208.

byrig and burg, ON. borg, OHG. burg, G. baurgi-, from bergan, I, c ;

F. 207.

byrðen, G. baurþei, ON. byrðr, from beran, I, b ; F. 203.

byrne, ON. brynja, G. brunjō, OHG. brunja, from béornan, I, c ; F. 205.

byrst, ON. burst, OHG. borst, Lat. fastigium, Skr. bhrshti ; F. 207.



ge-dyrst, OHG. ga-turst, Skr. dhṛṣhti, from OE. déarr, R. dhars; F. 146.

fyllan, ON. fylla, G. fulljan, from full, R. par; F. 179.

fylce, ON. fylki, from OE. folc; F. 189.

fylcgan, fylgian, fyligan, and folgian, see § I, A, ON. fylgja, OHG. folgōn, R. park; Schade 210, F. 182.

fyrst, ON. fyrstr, OHG. furist, from for, § I, A; F. 177.

gylden, ON. gullin, OHG. guldin, from gold, § I, A; F. 104.

gyrdan, ON. gyrða, OHG. gurtan: cp. OE. géard, Lat. hortus, Gr. *χóπος*; F. 102.

hyge *and* hycgan, ON. hygr and hyggja, OHG. hugu: cp. Lat. cune-tari, Skr. çank, Schade 428, F. 77.

hnyt, ON. hnot, OHG. hnuz, R. kand; F. 81.

myrce, ON. myrkr, OS. mirki: cp. Lat. margo, Skr. marj; Schade 612, F. 234.

scyld, ON. skuld, OHG. skuld, R. skal; F. 334.

stycce, ON. stykki, OHG. stucchi, from stecan, I, A; F. 343.

swylt, G. svulta, from sweltan, I, c; F. 363.

þyrnen, G. þaurneins, from þorn; F. 131.

þyrr, ON. þurr, OHG. durri; F. 132, from OG. þersan, I, c.

þyrs, ON. þurs, OHG. duris, from OG. þersan, I, c; F. 132.

þyrst, see þurst, § I, b.

þyrstan, ON. þyrsta, MHG. dürsten, R. tars, from OG. þersan, I, c; F. 133.

wyrd (wurd, wird), ON. woðr, OS. wurt, from wéorðan, I, c; F. 295, Schade 1218.

ge-wyrht, G. vaurhti-, OS. giwurht, R. varg; Schade 1122, F. 293.

wyrm, ON. ormr, G. vaurmi-, Lat. vermis; Schade 1217, F. 307.

wyrt, G. vaurti-, OHG. wurz-, Lat. radix; F. 294.

D. — OG. *u* is always derived from Indo-European *u* and becomes *o* in OE., except when followed by a nasal or low-pitched vowel, *ā*, *o*, *u*, where it remains *u*, or when umlaut changes either of these vowels to *y*. If *u* is absorbed after *u* the product is *ū*.

I. OG. *u* = OE. *u*. In the preterit plural of all verbs of Class III. The list has been given in Vol. XIII, p. 73 f. of the Transactions, and may be omitted here. Also in the preterit-present, *dugan*. The case is different with *cunnan*, *durran*, *mugan*, *sculan*, *þurfan*, *unnan*, which are preterit-

presents of Class I, where the *u* is due to svarabhakti. See I, B, and Transactions, XIV, pp. 58 f.

The examples are:—

bucca, ON. bokki, OHG. boch, Skr. bukka; F. 212. An exception.

dugan, G. dugan, ON. duga, Skr. duh; Schade 965, F. 149.

dugoð, OHG. tugund, from dugan; F. 149.

dumb, ON. dumbr, OHG. tumb; F. 150.

dust, ON. dust, OHG. tunst, R. dhu; Schade 970, F. 149.

fugol, ON. fugl, G. fugls: cp. Skeat, Etym. Dict. (fowl); Schade 230, F. 187.

hruse, OHG. rosā, O. Bulg. krūcha, from OE. hrēosan, III; F. 84.

hungor, ON. hungur, G. hufur, Skr. kuñc; Schade 430, F. 78.

lufu, G. lubō, OHG. luba, from OE. lēofan, III, R. lubhh; F. 277.

pung, ON. pūngr, G. puggs: cp. Gr. βύκρης, Lat. bucinum, Skr. buk-kāra; Schade 688, F. 167.

snuðian, ON. snudda, from snēowan, III; F. 351.

studu, MHG. stud; presupposed in ON. styðja, OHG. studjan: cp. Gr. στῦω, Skr. sthū-nā; Schade 886, F. 342.

sufi, sufol, sufal, ON. sufi, OHG. şufil, from sūfran, III; F. 326.

sunae, G. sunnō; Schade 894, F. 324.

sunnu, G. sunus; Schade 896, F. 323.

puma, ON. þumall, OHG. dūmō: cp. Lat. tumeo; F. 135.

## 2. When *n* is absorbed, *u* becomes *ū*.

hūsl, G. hunsla-, ON. hūsl; F. 79.

scūdan, ON. skynda, OHG. skuntan, OE. also scyndan; F. 338.

sūð and sūða, ON. sunnar, OHG. sund, from OE. sūnne; F. 324.

ūs, G. OHG. uns, ON. ōss; F. 33.

Add the preterits *cūðe* from *cunnan* and *ūðe* from *unnan*, both preterit-presents. Also *geðguð*, OHG. *jugund*, from *geóng*, § I, E.

E. — OG. *u* = OE. *o*, which may become *eó* after *g*, *c*, *sc*. The examples include all past participles of Class III, of which a list is given in Transactions, XIII, p. 73 f., and *dohte* from *dugan*; also such preterits as *bohte* from *bycgan*, but not properly *scolde* (*sceólde*) from *sculan*, *dorste* from *durran*, or *þorfte* from *þurfan*; see § II, A, i.

Other examples are :—

- bod *and* boda, ON. boð, boði, from OE. bēodan, III ; F. 214.  
 boga, ON. bogi, from OE. bēogan ; F. 213.  
 botm, ON. botn, Lat. fundus, Skr. budhna : cp. OE. bēotan ; F. 214.  
 broð, ON. broð, from OE. brēowan, III, Gr. βρῶτον ; F. 217.  
 coss *and* cyss, ON. koss, OHG. cus, from OE. cēosan, III, Lat. gustulum ; F. 48.  
 cosp *and* cysp, ON. kosp, Skr. gumphati ; F. 48. See cysp.  
 dohtor, G. dauhtar, ON. dōttir, Skr. duhitar ; Schade 943, F. 149.  
 dropa, ON. dropi, from OE. drēopan, III ; F. 155.  
 flota, ON. floti, from OE. flēotan, III ; F. 195.  
 forst, ON. frost, OHG. frost, from frēosan, III ; F. 192.  
 geóc, G. juk, OHG. joh, Lat. jugum, Skr. juga ; F. 244.  
 geóng, G. juggs, Lat. juvenis, Skr. juvan ; F. 244. The *o* is exceptional here for *u*. See Schade 466.  
 heretoga, ON. hertogi, from OE. tēon, III ; F. 65.  
 hlot *and* hlyt, ON. hluti, from OE. hlēotan, III ; F. 90.  
 hofer, OHG. hovar, Lith. kupra ; Schade 410, F. 77.  
 -hoga, ON. hugi, G. hugs : cp. OE. hyge ; F. 77.  
 hoppa, ON. hoppa : cp. Lat. cupis, Gr. κύπτω, Skr. kup ; F. 77.  
 hord, ON. hodd, G. huzda, OHG. hort, Lat. custos : cp. OE. hūs, ON. hauss ; Schade 419, F. 79.  
 loc, loca, locc, ON. lok, loka, lokkr, from OE. lūcan ; F. 274.  
 loða, ON. loði, OHG. ludo *and* lodo : cp. Gr. λύω, Skr. lū ; Schade 573, F. 273.  
 lofian, ON. lofa, OHG. lobōn, Lat. lubet, R. lubh ; F. 279.  
 ofer, ON. yfir, G. ufar, OHG. ubar, Gr. ὑπέρ, Lat. supra, Skr. upari ; F. 34.  
 rocettan, not elsewhere in Germanic, but cp. Lith. raugmi, O. Bulg. rygatisē, Gr. ἐρυγή, Lat. erugere ; F. 256.  
 sceót, OHG. scoz, from scīotan, III ; F. 337.  
 ge-sceót, ON. skot, OHG. skuz *and* skoz, from scēotan ; F. 337.  
 stofe, ON. stofā, OHG. stubā. The only -ā stem that has *o* for OG.  
*u*. Origin uncertain. Schade 885, F. 348.  
 trog, ON. OHG. trog, Gr. δρῦς, Skr. dru ; F. 118.  
 þofta, ON. þōpta, OHG. gidofto : cp. Lith. tupti ; F. 137.

F. — OG. *u* = OE. *y*. This is due to umlaut caused by an *i* or *j* in the following syllable. As the examples will show, these -*i* and -*ja* stems are not always OG. or even West Germanic. Where OG. *un* became *ū*, § II, A, 2, the umlaut was *j̄*.

Examples are : —

brytta, bryttian, ON. bryti, brytja, from brēotan, III ; F. 219.  
 bycgan, G. bugjan, R. bhugh. Skeat; Etym. Dict. 86.  
 cnyssan, ON. knosa, OHG. chnusian? G. knussjan ; F. 49.  
 cyssan, ON. kyssa : cp. coss, § II, B ; F. 48.  
 cyp *and* cosp, ON. kosp : cp. Skr. gumphati ; F. 48.  
 cyte, ON. kyta, OHG. chuti, MG. kote ; Schade 508, F. 47.  
 dryht, dryhten, ON. drött, dröttinn, from OE. drēogan, III ; F. 154.  
 dyn, dynnan, ON. dynr, dynja, Skr. dhunaya ; F. 149.  
 flyht, flyge, ON. flotti, Flug, from OE. flēogan, III ; F. 194.  
 grytt, OHG. gruzi, Lith. grudas, Lat. rudis ; F. 110.  
 hlyst, ON. hlust, OS. hlust, Skr. çrushti ; F. 90.  
 hlyt, ON. hlutr, OHG. hluz, from hlēotan, III ; F. 90.  
 hyp, ON. huppr, G. hupi- ; cp. Lat. cupio, Gr. κύπτα, Skr. kup ; F.

77.

lyft, G. luftus, ON. lopt ; Schade 573, F. 277.  
 lyt, OHG. in luzig, luzil, from OE. lūtan, III : cp. OE. lot, lytegian,  
 Slavic luditi ; Schade 580, F. 276.  
 ryge, ON. rūgr, OHG. roggo, Lith. rugys ; Schade 721, F. 256.  
 scýndan, ON. skynda, OHG. skuntan : cp. OE. scūdan, § II, A, 2,  
 Skr. çcut, R. skund ; Skeat, Etym. Dict. 535, Schade 815 (scu-  
 tjan), F. 338.  
 scytel, ON. skutill, from OE. scēotan, III ; F. 337.  
 ? syll, sylle, OHG. sola, G. sulja, probably from Lat. solea ; F. 327.  
 synn, G. sunja, ON. syn, OHG. sunna ; Schade 894, F. 326.  
 þrym, ON. þrymr, Lat. turma, Gr. τῦρβα ; F. 142.  
 ysle, ON. usli, OHG. usile : cp. Lat. uro, R. us ; F. 35.  
 yfese, G. ubizva, OHG. obasa, ON. ups : cp. G. uf, Lat. sub, Gr. ὑπό,  
 Skr. upa ; F. 35.

The only case of OG. *un* = OE. *ȝ* is —

ȝð, ON. unnr, OHG. undja ; Schade 1013.

G. — OG. *u* at the close of a syllable or before *w* is lengthened to *ū*. Hence we find : —

scūa, G. skuggva, ON. skyggi, OHG. scūo and scuwo, as well as the  
 corresponding verb scūwan, ON. skyggja, OHG. scūjan ; F. 336.  
 snūt, from snēowan, III ; F. 351.  
 þū, G. þu, Lat. tu, Gr. σὺ, Vedic tu-am ; F. 134.

SECTION II. — THE ORIGIN OF OE. *o*, *u*, *y*.

A. — OE. *o* is the regular representative of OE. *o* and *u* except where umlaut changes it to *y*, or where nasals or *w* produce *u* and *ū*, or when final. The examples have already been given in § I, A and I, E. Only the OE. words are repeated here.

1. OE. *o* for OG. *o* in *bolla*, *bolster*, *bolt*, *bord*, *brord*, *cnotta*, *col*, *dor*, *dolg*, *folā*, *folc*, *folgian*, *folm*, *for*, *forma*, *frox*, *god*, *gold*, *gor*, *hoga*, *hol*, *holm*, *holt*, *horn*, *hors*, *horsc*, *hose*, *molde*, *morgen*, *norð*, *ofen*, *ortgéard*, *oter*, *scort* (*sceórt*), *spor*, *spora*, *stoca*, *storm*, *top*, *þolian*, *þorp*, *þorn*, *þroht*, *word*, and in past participles of verbs of Class I, before liquids, and in *brocen*, *troden*, *broden*, *stroden*, *þroscen*.

2. OE. *o* for OG. *u* in *bod*, *boda*, *boga*, *botm*, *broð*, *coss*, *cosp*, *dohotor*, *dropa*, *flota*, *forst*, *geóc*, *geóng*, *-toga*, *hlot*, *hofer*, *-hoga*, *hoppan*, *horð*, *loc*, *loca*, *locc*, *loða*, *lofian*, *ofer*, *rocettan*, *stofe*, *trog*, *sceól*, *sceót*, *pofta*, and in past participles of Class III and in *dohite*, *bohite*.

3. OE. *o* can take the place of *a* before nasals, and is also found for OG. *a* in *oc*, *of*, *nosu*, *rodor*. See Transactions, XII, 73.

4. In *scolde* (*sceólde*), *dorste*, the *o* is derived from a *u* which was perhaps present in OG. but represents no Indo-European vowel. See § I, B.

5. When initial *w* precedes any short vowel, it may change it to *o* and sometimes to *u* in OE. So we have *worpan*, for *wéorpan*, *worold* for *wéorld*, and many other cases; but this is never regular. This change was begun in OG., as may be seen in such words as *dor*, *ortgéard*, *oter*.

6. After *g*, *c*, *sc* an *e* is inserted before *o* in some words, but not regularly except when *g* stands for OG. *j* (*geóc*, *geóng*). This may be compared to *ed* and *ie*, which have been spoken of in previous papers, and to *iē*, *eā*, *eō* among the long vowels.

B. — OE. *u* is regular for OG. *o* and *u* before nasals and for *u* when followed by *ā*, *o*, or *u* in the next syllable. It is used exceptionally for *o* before liquids in eight words. Medial *w* coalesces with a following vowel to form *u*, and initial *w*

changes a following vowel to *u* in several cases. The umlaut of this *u*, from whatever sources it comes, is *y*.

*u* in OE. is also the product of svarabhakti, as explained in Vol. XIII, p. 67, of the Transactions. This covers all preterit plurals of Class I, *c* and the preterit-presents of Class I, a list of which is given in § I, B.

1. OE. *u* = OG. *o*, § I, B. Examples are the past participles of Class I, *b*, *c*, before nasals, and the following words: *bruna*, *dung*, *grund*, *guma*, *hundred*, *hund*, *hunig*, *hunge*, *mund*, *stund*, *stuman*, *sumor*, *sund*, *tunge*, *tungol*, *punian*, *punor*, *under*, *undern*, *wund*, *wundor*; and where we should expect *o* before liquids, in *burg*, *duru*, *full*, *full*, *turf*, *þurst*, *wulf*, *wull*.

2. OE. *u* = OG. *u* in the preterit plural of all verbs of Class III and the preterit-present *dugan*; also in the following words: *bucca*, *dugoð*, *dumb*, *dust*, *fugol*, *hruse*, *hungor*, *lufu*, *pung*, *snuðian*, *studu*, *sufl*, *sunne*, *sunu*, *þuma*.

NOTE.—*un* is contracted to *ū* in *fūs*, *gūð*, *mūð*, *þūhte*; *hūs*, *scūdan*, *sūð*, *sūða*, *ūs*. See § I, B, 2 and D, 2.

3. Medial and initial *w* always produces *u* in *cuman*, G. *qiman*, and nearly always in *wucu*, G. *vicō*, *wudu*, ON. *viðr*; less regularly in *cuc*, *cwic*; *sur*, *swéor*; *tua*, *turha*; *suster*, *swéoster*.

Initial *w* exerts this influence in the course of time over a constantly widening number of words. The change had begun in OG. in such words as *duru*, *sund*, *hund*.

C.—OE. *y* is the umlaut of *o* and *u*, and has properly no other use. It is found, however, very frequently for the umlaut of *éa* and *éo*, which is more exactly written *íe*, and occasionally for *ié*, *i*, and *u*, though not regularly in any word or manuscript.

1. *y* is the umlaut of OE. *o* in the following cases given in § I, C: *Blys*, *blysan*, *brycg*, *bryrdan*, *byrig*, *byrðen*, *byrne*, *byrst*, *gedyrst*, *fyllan*, *fylce*, *fylcgan*, *fyrst*, *gylden*, *gyrdan*, *hyge*, *hycgan*, *hnyt*, *myrce*, *scyld*, *stycce*, *swylt*, *þyrnen*, *þyrr*, *þyrs*, *þyrstan*, *wyrd*, *wyrm*, *gewyrht*, *wyrt*; *cynn*, *cýning*, *dyng*, *dyngung*, *dynt*, *gryn*, *-mynd*, *tynder*, *þynn*, *þyncan*, *ymb*.

2. *y* is the umlaut of OG. *u* in these words given in § I, F : *Brytta, bryttian, bycgan, cnyssan, cyssan, cysp, cyte, dryht, dyn, dynnan, flyht, flyge, grytt, hlyst, hlyt, hyp, lyft, lyt, ryge, scyndan, scytel, ?syll, synn, prym, ysle, yfese.*

NOTE. — The umlaut of the long *ū* from OG. *un* and *on*, § I, C, F, is *ȳ*, and occurs in *fȳst, fȳsan*, and *ȳð*. The 2d and 3d sing. pres. ind. *cymest, cymeð*, are the umlaut of *y* from OG. *we*. See § II, B, 3.

### SECTION III. — DEVELOPMENT OF OE. *o, eo, u, y*, IN NE.

A. — OE. *o* and *eo* are found in NE. with the sound *o* fifty-three times, with the sound *O* thirty-four, with *O<sup>a</sup>* twenty-nine times, *o<sup>e</sup>* seven, *u* twice, *e<sup>a</sup>* once.

I. OE. *o* = NE. *o*. This is the regular sound before mutes, fricatives, nasals, and *h*. It is used also before *lg* and *rg*, where this *g* has become *ow* in New English. Exceptions are, however, numerous, as will be seen below. The examples are : —

Before mutes : —

|                     |                        |                |
|---------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| cropp, crop.        | soden, sodden.         | croca, crock.  |
| coppa, cob-web.     | troden, trod.          | frocg, frog.   |
| dropa, drop.        | botm, bottom.          | flock, flock.  |
| hoppian, hop.       | cot, cot.              | locc, lock.    |
| loppestre, lobster. | cnotta, knot.          | socc, sock.    |
| sop, sop.           | hlot, lot.             | smocce, smock. |
| stoppian, stop.     | rotian, rot.           | stocc, stock.  |
| topp, top.          | Scotland, Scotland.    | fox, fox.      |
| bodig, body.        | ge-scot (sceót), shot. | ox, ox.        |
| codd, cod.          | cocc, cock.            |                |
| God, God.           | coccel, coccle.        |                |

Before nasals and fricatives : —

|                 |               |              |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| of, of.         | oft, oft.     | moððe, moth. |
| of, off.        | frost, frost. | on, on.      |
| offrian, offer. |               |              |

Add also these cases where OE. *o* is for an older *a*. Cp. Transactions, XII, p. 73. The NE. sound comes from the OE. forms with *a*, not from the older and equally common forms with *a*.

|             |                 |                    |
|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| bond, bond. | strong, strong. | tonge, tongs.      |
| from, from. | ?swon, swan.    | ?wonn, wan.        |
| long, long. | þong, thong.    | ?wondrian, wander. |
| song, song. | þrong, throng.  | wrong, wrong.      |

Before *h* and *lg*, *rg* when the *g* is vocalized in NE.

|                  |                  |                 |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| cohhetan, cough. | holegn, holly.   | morgen, morrow. |
| folgian, follow. | borgian, borrow. | sorg, sorrow.   |
| holh, hollow.    |                  |                 |

The sound *o* fails to occur in the words mentioned in 2, ii, and in *broth*, *trough*, owing to the *r*, see 3; also in *oven*, *shovel*, see 4, in *womb*, see 5.

2. OE. *o* = NE. *O*. This is the regular sound before *l* and *l* + consonant, except when *g* is absorbed into the vowel sound *ow*. See A, I, iii. We find it also exceptionally before mutes and fricatives where we should expect *o*, and this sound is actually used for *O* in these words by many people.

i. Before *l* and *l* + consonant; see 6 and 7 for exceptions.

|                   |               |                   |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| bolla, bowl.      | fola, foal.   | stolen, stolen.   |
| bolster, bolster. | folc, folk.   | swollen, swollen. |
| bolt, bolt.       | gold, gold.   | toll, toll.       |
| colt, colt.       | hol, hole.    | þol, thole.       |
| col, coal.        | molde, mould. |                   |
| cnoll, knoll.     | scolu, shoal. |                   |

ii. Before absorbed *g*, and other mutes and fricatives:—

|                 |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| boga, bow.      | flotjan, float. | smoca, smoke.   |
| flögen, flown.  | mot, mote.      | spocen, spoken. |
| hopian, hope.   | þrotu, throat.  | clofen, cloven. |
| open, open.     | brocen, broken. | ofer, over.     |
| bodian, bode.   | geóc, yoke.     | coren, chosen.  |
| froren, frozen. | hose, hose.     | nosu, nose.     |

If we examine these exceptions we shall see that they are due to the presence of a following *en* in *open*, *spoken*, *broken*, *cloven*, *chosen*, and *frozen*, with which compare *sodden* below. To the ending of a weak infinitive in *hopian*, *bodian*, *flotian*, against which we have *hoppian* and *stoppian*, producing *o* on account of the double *pp*. *Bow* and *flown* are due to the absorbed *g*, as has already been said. *Mote*, *throat*, *yoke*, *smoke*, *over*, *hose*, and *nose*, are without explanation unless



one wish to see such in the *u* of *protu* and *nosu*, a view which the ME. will not sustain.

The sound O fails to occur in *dull*. See 4.

3. OE. *o* becomes O<sup>a</sup> before *r*, and *h* and *r* + consonant. Occasionally after *r*, where we should expect *o* (*broth*, *trough*). Examples are:—

|                  |                     |                   |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| beforan, before. | norð, north.        | sworen, sworn.    |
| borian, bore.    | hors, horse.        | toren, torn.      |
| for, for.        | forma, former.      | þorn, thorn.      |
| bord, board.     | storm, storm.       | bohte, bought.    |
| ford, ford.      | þoren, born.        | dohtor, daughter. |
| hord, hoard.     | corn, corn.         | wrohte, wrought.  |
| port, port.      | forlorn, forlorn.   | brøð, broth.      |
| sceórt, short.   | horn, horn.         | trog, trough.     |
| storc, stork.    | morgening, morning. |                   |
| forð, forth.     | scoren, shorn.      |                   |

This sound fails to occur in *murder*, *durst*, *burst*, *word*. See 4.

4. OE. *o* = NE. *o*<sup>e</sup> only exceptionally. In *among*, *monger*, *oven*, *shovel*, we expect *o*; in *dull*, O; in the other cases, O<sup>a</sup>. The examples are:—

|                 |                  |                |
|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| ofen, oven.     | mongere, monger. | dorste, durst. |
| scofel, shovel. | dol, dull.       | borste, burst. |
| gemong, among.  | morðor, murder.  | word, word.    |

5. OE. *o* becomes U in *womb*, *womb*, when we should expect *o*. This is due to the *w*.

6. OE. *o* becomes *u* in *sceólde*, *should*, *wolde*, *would*, owing to the absorbed *l*.

7. OE. *o* becomes *e*<sup>a</sup> in *wolcnu*, *welkin*. The change from *o* through *a* to *e* is Middle English.

8. The NE. letter for OE. *o*, with the sounds *o*, O, O<sup>a</sup>, *o*<sup>e</sup>, is regularly *o*; but *oa* occurs in *coal*, *foal*, *shoal*, *float*, *throat*; *board*, *hoard*; *ow* in *bow*, *bowl*, *flown*; *ou* in *cough*, *mould*, *trough*, *bought*, *wrought*; *should*, *would*; *u* in *burst*, *durst*, *murder*, *dull*. In the wholly isolated *welkin* we have the regular spelling for the sound *e*<sup>a</sup>. In *wan*, *wander*, *swan*, the *a* may be from the OE. form with *a*, or is perhaps retained to distinguish these words from *won*, *wonder*. The only regular deviation from *o* is where a following *g*, *h*, or *l* has been absorbed when the invariable spelling is *ow* or *ou*.

B. — OE. *u* becomes *o<sup>e</sup>* in NE. regularly. Where *g* is absorbed after OE. *u* the result is *au*, which a preceding *r* will change to U. *Au* is also regular before *nd* in monosyllables. Before *r* and *rn* we find O<sup>a</sup>; before *ld* the sound is O; before *ll*, and sometimes after *w*, we have *u*. The sounds *i* and *o* occur only in *knock* and *high*.

I. OE. *u* = NE. *o<sup>e</sup>* before mutes, fricatives, nasals, and liquids, except as above, and in *groom*, *knock*, both words of doubtful history. The examples are :—

|                  |                      |                   |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| cuppa, cup.      | tusc, tusk.          | dunn, dun.        |
| upp, up.         | þus, thus.           | druncen, drunk.   |
| buttere, butter. | cuman, come.         | hundred, hundred. |
| gutt, gut.       | crume, crumb.        | hungor, hunger.   |
| hnutu, nut.      | dumb, dumb.          | hunig, honey.     |
| bucca, buck.     | slumerian, slumber.  | huntian, hunt.    |
| cnucel, knuckle. | sum, some.           | munuc, monk.      |
| pluccian, pluck. | sumor, summer.       | under, under.     |
| lufu, love.      | spunnen, spun.       | wrunge, rung.     |
| dust, dust.      | stunt, stunt.        | wundor, wonder.   |
| nunne, nun.      | sunu, son.           | ge-wunnen, won.   |
| scunian, shun.   | tunge, tongue.       | burg, burough.    |
| suncen, sunk.    | tunne, tun.          | curs, curse.      |
| sungen, sung.    | þunod, thunder.      | furh, furrow.     |
| sundor, sunder.  | þunresdae, Thursday. | furðor, further.  |
| sunne, sun.      | swummen, swum.       | turf, turf.       |
| lust, lust.      | clungen, clung.      | þurh, thorough.   |
| rust, rust.      | cunnen, cunning.     |                   |

2. OE. *u* = NE. *au* before *nd* and absorbed *g*, also in *mount*, where we should expect *o<sup>e</sup>*, by the analogy of *mound*. The examples are :—

|                  |                   |                 |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| bounden, bound.  | hund, hound.      | munt, mountain. |
| founden, found.  | pund, pound.      | sugu, sow.      |
| grund, ground.   | ge-sund, sound.   | fugol, fowl.    |
| grunden, ground. | ge-wunden, wound. |                 |

Note the words *thorough* and *through* from OE. *þurh* = *pruh*, when from analogy we should expect *au*, but have actually *o<sup>e</sup>* and U. See 1 and 4; also *wound* (noun), see 4.

3. OE. *u* becomes U before *ll*, and sometimes after *u*; exceptionally also in *-groom*. Examples are :—

|                   |             |                   |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| bulluca, bullock. | wull, wool. | wulf, wolf.       |
| full, full.       | wudu, wood. | guma, bridegroom. |

4. OE. *u* becomes U in the three following words, which are exceptional: *guma, groom, þurh, through, wund, wound*.

5. OE. *u* = NE. O<sup>a</sup> before *r* and *rn* in *dura, door, murnan, mourn*; no other cases occur.

6. OE. *u* = NE. O before *ld*. There is but one example, *shoulder*, OE. *sculdor*, but this was probably regular. Compare the influence of *ld* in *cold*.

7. OE. *u* = NE. *i* and *o* in *hup, hip, and cnuccian, knock*, which are wholly isolated.

8. OE. *u* is spelled *u* in NE. when pronounced *o*<sup>e</sup>, and also in *bullock* and *full*. The spelling fails to occur in *come, some, son, love, monk, hōney, tongue, wonder, won, thorough*. The spelling *o* occurs with the sound *o*<sup>e</sup> exceptionally in the ten words just given, and also in *wolf*. The spelling *ou* is used for the sound *au* (*ow* in *sow, fowl*), and for U except in *groom*. Also for O and for O<sup>a</sup> in *mourn*. The spelling *oo* is found in *groom, wood, wool, door*.

C. — OE. *y*, excluding those cases where *y* is miswritten for *ie* and *ie*, produces in NE. regularly the sound *i* before mutes, fricatives, nasals, and *l*; where this sound is lengthened as it is before *nd, ht, and g* (absorbed), the result is *ai*; before *r* and *r* + consonant the sound is *o*<sup>e</sup>, and this sound occurs in six other words for the regular *i*. The sound *e*<sup>a</sup> is exceptional in *fledged* for *i*, in *bury* for *o*<sup>e</sup>.

1. OE. *y* = NE. *i*. There are 38 cases. The list was given in last year's Transactions, p. 158. The NE. words only are given here. These are: *clip, dip, did, knit, litter, spit, pit, bridge, ridge, midge, chicken, kitchen, thick, vixen, lift, busy, kiss, list, build, fill, guilt, gild, hill, mill, sill, thrill, din, dirt, inch, kin, king, minster, mint, sin, thin, think, tinder, trim*.

2. OE. *y* = NE. *ai* in the following words:—

|                 |                 |              |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| ge-cynde, kind. | flyht, flight.  | bycgan, buy. |
| ge-mynd, mind.  | wryhta, wright. | lyge, lie.   |
| lyht, light.    | dryge, dry.     | ryge, rye.   |

3. OE. *y* becomes *o*<sup>e</sup> before *r* and *r* + consonant and in six words where the ME. spelling *u* prevailed over the more usual *i*. The examples are:—

byrden, burden.  
ge-byrð, birth.  
byrig, -burg.  
cyrice, church.  
cyrnel, kernel.  
fýrs, furze.  
fýrsta, first.

myrc, murky.  
styrian, stir.  
styrne, stern.  
þýrstan, thirst.  
wyrcean, work.  
wýrs, worse.  
wýrt, wort.

wyrm, worm.  
byndel, bundle.  
clystre, cluster.  
cymlic, comely.  
crycc, crutch.  
scytel, shuttle.  
scyttan, shut.

4. OE. *y* becomes *e<sup>a</sup>* in *flycge*, *fledged*, *bebyrgan*, *bury*, in place of the regular *i* and *o<sup>e</sup>*. See 1 and 3.

5. OE. *y* becomes *i* in *yfel*, *evil*, and *wýrd*, *weird*, where we should have expected *i* and *o<sup>e</sup>*.

6. OE. *y* when pronounced *i* is spelled *i* except in *busy*, and *build*. *Guilt* is not to be regarded as an exception, as the *u* in this case is only a sign of the sound of *g*. When pronounced *ai*, the spelling when medial is still *i*, when final *ie* in *lie*, *y* in *dry*, *uy* in *buy*,<sup>1</sup> *ye* in *rye*. When the sound is *o<sup>e</sup>*, the spelling is *u* except after *w*, where it is *o*, and in the following cases: *comely*; *birth*, *first*, *stir*, *thirst*; *kernel*, *stern*. When OE. *y* is exceptionally sounded *e<sup>a</sup>*, it is spelled *e* in *fleaged*, *ei* in *weird*, *u* in *bury*.

#### SECTION IV. — THE NEW ENGLISH SOUNDS.

The ME. sounds to be treated in this section are *O<sup>a</sup>*, *O*, *o*, *o<sup>e</sup>*, *U*, *u*, and the diphthong *au*, to which are added the sounds *I* and *ai*, in order to complete in this paper the account of NE. sounds. The letters to be spoken of here are *au*, *aw*, *o*, *oa*, *oe*, *oo*, *ou*, *u*, *ue*, *ui*, *uy*.

A. — *Au* is used: 1. For OE. *ū* regularly in monosyllables. The list with exceptions and comments is given in *Anglia*, VII, 215. The NE. words are: *brow*, *cow*, *how*, *now*, *thou*, *bower*, *shower*, *sour*, *our*, *foul*, *owl*, *brown*, *down*, *town*, *mouth*, *south*, *house*, *louse*, *mouse*, *thousand*, *cloud*, *crowd*, *loud*, *shroud*, *clout*, *lout*, *proud*, *out*, *bow* (verb) (29).

2. For OE. *u*, see III, B, 2, before *nd* and absorbed *g*.

3. For OE. *ō* in *bough*, *plough*. See *Anglia*, VII, 214, 3.

<sup>1</sup> *Buy*: the ME. forms are *buie*, *beie*, *bien*, *biggen*, OE. *byc-an*; hence it appears that the *y* which is now the vowel is historically the consonant *cg*.

4. The spelling of this sound is *ou*, and when final, *ow*. *ow* occurs medially in *bower*, *shower*, *owl*, *brown*, *down*, *town*, *crowd*, *fowl*; and *ou* is final in *thou*.

B. — O<sup>a</sup> is used for OE. *a* 13 times, *éa* 19, *ed* 2, *æ* 2, *éo* 2, *o* 28, *u* 2, *ē* 1, *ā* 20, *ēa* 2, *eā* 1, *ēo* 4, *ō* 7.

1. OE. *a* = O<sup>a</sup>. See Transactions, XII, 82. The ME. words are *dawn*, *draw*, *gnaw*, *haw*, *law*, *marw*, *saw*, *haw*, *awl*. In all cases before absorbed *g*, *f*, or *w*.

2. OE. *éa* = O<sup>a</sup>. See Transactions, XVI, p. 154. The NE. words are *saw*, *fought*, *all*, *hall*, *stall*, *wall*, *fall*, *gall*, *balm*, *stalk*, *walk*, *balk*, *alderman*, *chalk*, *warn*, *warm*, *word*, *swarm*, *swarthy*.

3. OE. *eā*, which changed its accent to *éa*, produced O<sup>a</sup> in *chalk*, *gall*, already given in the list in 2.

4. OE. *æ* became O<sup>a</sup> in *small*, *water*. See Transactions, XVI, p. 157.

5. OE. *éo* = O<sup>a</sup> in *dwarf*, *sword*. See Transactions, XVI, p. 153.

6. OE. *o* = O<sup>a</sup> in 28 words. See § III, A, 3.

7. OE. *u* = O<sup>a</sup> in *door*, *mourn*. See § III, B, 5.

8. OE. *ē* = O<sup>a</sup> only in *taught*. See Anglia, VII, 210, 211.

9. OE. *ā* = O<sup>a</sup>. See Anglia, VII, 212, 3. The NE. words are *boar*, *gore*, *hoar*, *love*, *more*, *oar*, *ore*, *roar*, *sore*, *your*, *hoarse*, *lord*, *or*, *cloth*, *wroth*, *broad*, *aught*, *ought*, *lo*! (also pronounced O), *thaw*.

10. OE. *ēa* is sounded O<sup>a</sup> in *raw*, *straw*. Anglia, VII, 207, 3.

11. OE. *eā* = O<sup>a</sup> in *yore*. Anglia, VII, 213.

12. OE. *ēo* = O<sup>a</sup> in *four*, *forty*, *fourteen*, *fourth*. Anglia, VII, 209, 3.

13. OE. *ō* = O<sup>a</sup> in *floor*, *whore*, *swore*, *brought*, *sought*, *thought*. Anglia, VII, 214, 3. To the words given there add *awe*, OE. *ōga*. See Skeat, Etym. Dict., 45. We find this sound then before *r* and *r* + consonant 49 times; after *r*, 6 times; before *ll*, *ld*, and *l* + cons., where *l* is absorbed, 13 times; before an absorbed *h*, *g*, *w*, or *f*, 21 times; beside which we find the sound irregularly for O as final in *la*! *thaw*, and medially in *awe*, *cloth*; and for the sound *o* or perhaps *æ* in *water*.

14. The spelling of *O*<sup>a</sup> is *aw* (medial *au*) when a consonant is absorbed after OE. *éa*, *a*, *æ*, *ā*, *ēa*, *ēo* (except *forty*), and this occurs also in *daughter* and *awe*; but when the consonant is absorbed after *o* or *ō*, the spelling is *ow* (*ou*) except in *daughter*. The spelling *a* is used with the sound *O*<sup>a</sup> for OE. *éa*, *æ*, and *éo* except in *sword*. The spelling *o* is used for *o*, *ā*, *ō* and for *ēow* in *forty* and for *éo* in *sword*. This letter fails to occur however in *board*, *hoard*, *boar*, *hoar*, *oar*, *roar*, *hoarse*, which are the only cases of *oa*, and in *floor*, which with *door* for OE. *u* is the only case of *oo* with this sound.

C. — *O* is used for OE. *éa* 7 times, *æ* 1, *ā* 62, *éo* = *eó* 1, *ēa* 2, *ēo* 1, *u* 1, *o* 34, *ō* 7. It is spelled *o* 65 times, *oa* 23, *oe* 6, *ou* (*ow*) 29, *ew* 1.

1. OE. *éa* is sounded *O* in NE. before *ld*. See Transactions, XVI, p. 154, except in the dissyllable *alderman*. The NE. words are *bold*, *cold*, *fold*, *hold*, *old*, *sold*, *told*.

2. OE. *æ* = *O* only in *clover*. Transactions, XVI, p. 157.

3. OE. *ā* becomes *O* always except before *ht*, *r*. For exceptions and comments, see Anglia, VII, 211. The NE. words only are given here: *doe*, *fro*, *go*, *no*, *lo*, *roe*, *sloe*, *so*, *toe*, *woe*, *dole*, *whole*, *mole*, *foam*, *home*, *loam*, *bone*, *groan*, *moan*, *only*, *shone*, *stone*, *blow*, *know*, *crow*, *mow*, *row*, *snow*, *slow* (OE. *eā*), *throw*, *soul*, *drove*, *loaf*, *oath*, *clothe*, *loathe*, *rose*, *those*, *ghost*, *grobe*, *pope*, *rope*, *soap*, *bode*, *goad*, *loadstone*, *road*, *toad*, *woad*, *oats*, *boat*, *goat*, *wrote*, *owe*, *own*, *dough*, *foe*, *low*, *oak*, *spoke*, *stroke*, *token*.

4. OE. *éo* changes its accent to *eó*, and is pronounced *O* in *yolk*. See Transactions, XVI, p. 153.

5. OE. *ēa* = *Q* in *though*, *show* (OE. *scēawian*). See Anglia, VII, 207, 6. Both are exceptions.

6. *ēo* occurs with this sound in NE. only in *sew*, OE. *sēowjan*, compare 5. This *ēo* and *ēa* before *w* are certainly long in OE. This pronunciation is an isolated exception. See Anglia, VII, 208, 2.

7. OE. *u* = *O* in *shoulder*. See § III, B, 6.

8. OE. *o* = *O* in 34 cases. See § III, A, 2.

9. OE. *ō* = *O* in *blow*, *flow*, *grow*, *low*, *row*, *hove*, *awoke*. See Anglia, VII, 214, 2.

10. The usual spelling when medial is *o*, and where *h*, *w*, *g*, has been absorbed *ou* (*ow*). When final, we have *o* or *oe*, and when a consonant has been absorbed, *ow*. *oa* is used for *o* (medial) in *oath*, *loathe*, *loaf*, *groan*, *loam*, *foam*, *oak*, *road*, *loadstone*, *woad*, *goad*, *toad*, *oats*, *goat*, *boat*, *soap*, *coal*, *foal*, *shoal*, *float*, *throat*. *ou*, *ow* for *o* (medial) in *mould*, *bowl*, and where *gh* or *w* has been absorbed in *soul*, *sown*, *thrown*, *known*, *owe*, *dough*, *own*, *flown*. OE. *i* is used for *o* (final) in *roe*, *sloe*, *woe*, *doe*, *toe*, and for *o* (final) where *g* is absorbed and we expect *ow* in *foe*.

D. — *o*, as in *hot*, is used for OE. *a* 4 times, *éa* 5, *æ* 3, *ā* 9, *e* 2, *éo* 1, *u* 1, *o* 54, *ō* 7.

1. OE. *a*, *æ*, *e* are sounded *o* after *w*, but not regularly so. Cp. Transactions, XII, p. 82, and XVI, pp. 157, 151. The NE. words are *swan*, *wan*, *wander*, *wash*, *was*, *what*, *watch*, *swallow* (noun), *wasp*.

2. OE. *éa* has this sound in NE. always before *lt* and sometimes after *w*. The NE. words are *halt*, *malt*, *salt*, *swallow* (verb), *wallow*.

3. OE. *éo* has this sound only in *beyond* where *éo* has become *eó* in ME., if indeed *eó* were not the original sound, in which case all would be regular.

4. OE. *u* has this sound only in the isolated *knock*. See § III, B, 7.

5. OE. *o* has this sound regularly, as stated in § III, A, 1. The NE. words are *cough*, *follow*, *hollow*, *holly*, *borrow*, *morrow*, *sorrow*, *bond*, *from*, *long*, *song*, *strong*, *thong*, *throng*, *tongs*, *wrong*, *of*, *off*, *offer*, *oft*, *frost*, *moth*, *on*, *crop*, *cobweb*, *drop*, *hop*, *lobster*, *sop*, *stop*, *top*, *body*, *cod*, *god*, *sodden*, *trod*, *bottom*, *cot*, *knot*, *lot*, *rot*, *Scotland*, *shot*, *cock*, *coccle*, *crock*, *frog*, *flock*, *lock*, *sock*, *smock*, *stock*, *ox*, *fox*.

6. OE. *ā* becomes *o* in *anon*, *gone*, *hot*, *holiday*, *knowledge*, *not*, *shone*, *wot*. See Anglia, VII, 212, 5, 6.

7. OE. *ō* becomes *o* in *blossom*, *foster*, *gosling*, *soft*, *fodder*, *shod*, *rod*. See Anglia, VII, 214, 5.

8. The regular spelling for this sound is *o*, except where it stands for OE. *e*, *ea*, *æ*, or *a*, when the spelling is *a*. The only exception is *cough*, where the *u* is due to the absorbed *h*.

E. — *o*<sup>e</sup> is found for OE. *i* 8 times, *e* 1, *éo* 17, *ie* 3, *éa* 2, *a* 1, *o* 10, *u* 53, *y* 22, *ēo* 1, *iē* 2, *ā* 2, *ā* 1, *ō* 15, *ū* 14, and is spelled *i* 12 times, *e* 10, *ea* 9, *a* 1, *o* 35, *oo* 2, *ou* 5, *u* 76.

1. OE. *i* becomes *o*<sup>e</sup> before *r* and *r* + consonant and under peculiar conditions in three other words. See Transactions, XVI, p. 148. The NE. words are: *bird*, *her*, *mirth*, *much*, *run*, *shepherd*, *such*, *third*.

2. OE. *e* has this sound only in the slurred pronunciation of the before a consonant.

3. OE. *ie* = *o*<sup>e</sup> before *r* + consonant in *girdle*, *girt*, *smirk*. See Transactions, XVI, p. 151.

4. OE. *éo* = *o*<sup>e</sup> before *r* + consonant in *birch*, *burn*, *burst*, *churl*, *earl*, *earth*, *earnest*, *hearth*, *iceberg*, *learn*, *spurn*, *swerve*, *work*, *world*, *worth*, *year*, and exceptionally in *young*. See Transactions, XVI, p. 153.

5. OE. *éa* = *o*<sup>e</sup> in *earn*, *fern*. Transactions, XVI, p. 155.

6. OE. *a* = *o*<sup>e</sup> in *rather*, which is also given the sound *a*. Transactions, XII, 86.

7. OE. *o* = *o*<sup>e</sup> in *among*, *monger*, *oven*, *shovel*, *dull*, *murder*, *durst*, *burst*, *word*. See § III, A, 4.

8. OE. *u* gives *o*<sup>e</sup> in NE. in all cases except as noticed in § III, B, 1, where the 53 examples are given.

9. OE. *y* = *o*<sup>e</sup> in 22 cases mentioned in § III, C, 3, before *r* and *r* + consonant, and in words which in ME. have commonly *u* in place of the more usual *i*.

10. OE. *ēo* = *o*<sup>e</sup> in *thirteen*. See Anglia, VII, 209.

11. OE. *ā* = *o*<sup>e</sup> in *heard*, *dearth*. Anglia, VII, 206, 6.

12. OE. *ā* = *o*<sup>e</sup> in *erst*, *were*. Anglia, VII, 211.

13. OE. *ā* = *o*<sup>e</sup> in *nothing*, OE. *nānþing*. Anglia, VII, 213.

14. OE. *ō* = *o*<sup>e</sup> regularly in *chough*, *enough*, *tough*, and also in *brother*, *mother*, *other*, and *Monday*, *month*, *gum*, *doth*, *done*, *glove*, *blood*, *flood*, *most*. See Anglia, VII, 214, 3, 5, where *geōng* is also placed, though in this paper I have treated it as *gēong*.

15. OE. *ū* = *o*<sup>e</sup> in *scum*, *thumb*, *dove*, *above*, *rough*, *us*, *husband*, *udder*, *but*, *utterly*, *suck*, *neighbor*. See Anglia, VII, 216.

16. This frequent sound is one of the most irregular in its



uses, as is manifest from what has preceded. It is regular for *u*, and is the usual sound for *ō* and *ū* when these are shortened. Its use for vowels from *i* to *a* is chiefly where *r* or *r* + consonant follows. The other cases are hardly more than isolated exceptions. The spelling is hardly more regular, for though *u* occurs in the majority of cases, yet it is only for OE. *u*, *ū*, and *y*, that it predominates, and the other spellings are used with little regularity.

The letter *i* is used with the sound *oe* for OE. *i* 3 times, *y* 4, *éo* 1, *ie* 3, *ēo* 1, in all 12 times. The letter *e* is used for OE. *éa* 1, *i* 2, *y* 2, *e* 1, *éo* 2, *ā* 2, in all 10 times. The letters *ea* are used for *éa* 1, *éo* 6, *īe* 2, in all 9 times. The letter *a* is used only in *rather*. The letter *o* is used for OE. *ā* 1, *y* 5, *éo* 3, *u* 10, *ū* 4, *o* 4, *ō* 8, in all 35 times. The letters *oo* are used only in *blood*, *flood*, for OE. *ō*. The letters *ou* are used for *éo* in *young* and for *ū* in *rough* and for *ō* in *chough*, *enough*, *tough*. The letter *u* is used for OE. *i* 3, *y* 11, *éo* 4, *o* 4, *u* 43, *ō* 2, *ū* 9, in all 76 times.

F.—The sound U is used for OE. *o* once, *u* three times, *ā* 1, *ā* 4, *ēa* 7, *ēo* 23, *ō* 31, *ū* 4, and is spelled *ew* 22 times, *o* 10, *oe* 1, *oo* 31, *ou* 5, *u* 3, *ue* 4.

1. OE. *ō*, *ē*, *ā*, *ēa*, *ēo*, receive this sound under the influence of *w*. The cases for *o*, *womb*; for *ē*, *lewd*; for *ā*, *who*, *whose*, *whom*, *two*; for *ēa*, *few*, *hew*, *shrew*, *strew*, *threw*, to which add *flew*, where, however, the *w* for OE. *g* does not appear till the ME. period; for *ēo*, *blew*, *brew*, *chew*, *clew*, *crew*, *ewe*, *grew*, *hue*, *knew*, *new*, *ruth*, *spew*, *steward*, *Tuesday*, *truth*, *yew*, *you*. See Anglia, VII, 217, and also 207, 208, 210, and § III, A, 5. This sound is also found for *ēo* in *lose*, *choose*, *shoot*, *yule*; but in these cases the ME. shows us that the accent was changed from *ēo* to *eō*, and these words are therefore only cases of *ō* = NE. U, which, as will appear below, is the regular development.

2. OE. *u* = U in *groom*, *through*, *wound*. See § III, B, 4.

3. OE. *ō* = U except before *w*, *r*, *c*, and in dissyllables. It occurs also in other cases, and there are many exceptions. The subject is fully treated in Anglia, VII, 213 f. The examples (including the cases of *ēo* = *eō*; see § IV, F, 1)

are *do*, *shoe* (noun), *shoe* (verb), *to*, *cool*, *yule*, *stool*, *tool*, *hoof*, *be-hove*, *roof*, *groove*, *smooth*, *sooth*, *tooth*, *choose*, *goose*, *lose*, *roost*, *bloom*, *broom*, *doom*, *gloom*, *moon*, *noon*, *soon*, *drew*, *youth*, *slew*, *woo*, *brood*, *food*, *mood*, *rood*, *boot*, *shoot*, *moor*.

4. OE.  $\bar{u}$  = U in *boor*, *brook*, *room*, *uncouth*. See Anglia, VII, 216, 3.

5. The spelling when medial is *oo* regularly, but *ou* occurs in *through*, *wound*, *uncouth*, and *youth*; *o* in *womb*, *behave*, *lose*, and also in *whose*, *whom*, following the spelling of *who*; *yule* has *u*, which is not found elsewhere except where *w* has been absorbed as in *ruth*, *truth*; but absorbed *w* gives also *ue* in Tuesday and *ew* in *lewd*, *steward*. When final, the spelling, if a *w* followed in OE., is *ew*, except in *you*, *hue*, *rue*, and this occurs also by analogy in *drew* and *slew*; otherwise *o* is the regular spelling, though *oo* is found in *woo* and *oe* in *shoe*.

G. — The sound *u*, as in *look*, occurs for OE. *o* twice, *u* 6 times,  $\bar{i}$  1,  $\bar{e}$  1,  $\bar{a}$  1,  $\bar{o}$  14,  $\bar{u}$  2, and is spelled *oo* except before *ld*, where we have *ou* (*could*, *should*, *would*), and in *full*, *bullock*, where the OE. *u* is preserved as it would be in *wolf* if *wu* were a possible initial spelling in NE. A further exception is *hung*. In dissyllables we have *o* (*woman*, *bosom*), which letter is found also in *wolf*.

1. OE. *o* produces *u* before absorbed *l* + *d* in *should*, *would*. The analogy of these words is kept in the spelling and pronunciation of *could*, OE. *cūðe*. See § III, A, 6.

2. OE. *u* produces *u* before *ll*, sometimes after *w*, and in *bridegroom*, though *groom* has the regular sound U. The words are *bullock*, *full*, *wool*, *wood*, *wolf*, *bridegroom*. See § III, B, 3.

3. OE.  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{a}$ , have this sound exceptionally in one word each, *woman*, *hung*, and the suffix *-hood*. See Anglia, VII, 204, 206, 212.

4. OE.  $\bar{o}$  produces this sound in *brook* (noun), *book*, *cook*, *hook*, *rook*, *look*, *shook*, *took*, *good*, *hood*, *stood*, *foot*, *bosom*. See Anglia, VII, 214, 5.

5. OE.  $\bar{u}$  has this sound in *could* (see 1) and *brook* (verb), which is also pronounced U. See Anglia, VII, 216.

H. — The sound I is used for OE. *i* 3 times, *iē* 3, *e* 26, *éo* 2, *éa* 2, *æ* 2, *y* 2, *ē* 33, *īe* 19, *ēa* 28, *ēo* 33, *ǣ* 41. It is spelled *ee* 78 times, *ea* 60, *e* 8, *ie* 7, *ey* 1.

1. OE. *i* = I in *these*, *weevil*, *week*. See Transactions, XVI, p. 147.

2. OE. *iē* = I in *yeast*, *yield*, *shield*. See Transactions, XVI, p. 151.

3. OE. *e* = I in *heave*, *eat*, *meat*, *knead*, *bead*, *mead*, *leak*, *speak*, *bequeathe*, *weasel*, *even*, *eaves*, *fever*, *weave*, *car*, *mere*, *shear*, *smear*, *spear*, *weir*, *field*, *meal*, *steal*, *weal*, *qucan*, *wean*. See Transactions, XVI, p. 150.

4. OE. *éo* = I in *beneath*, *seal*, *beaver*. Transactions, XVI, p. 152.

5. OE. *éa* = I in *beard*, *year*. Transactions, XVI, p. 154.

6. OE. *æ* = I in *either*, *least*. Transactions, XVI, p. 155.

7. OE. *y* = I in *evil*, *weird*. See § III, C, 5.

8. OE. *ē* produces this sound in *ye*, *he*, *me*, *thee*, *we*, *here*, *weary*, *feel*, *heel*, *teeth*, *deem*, *seem*, *been*, *queen*, *green*, *ween*, *weep*, *bleed*, *breed*, *creed*, *feed*, *gleed*, *meed*, *weed*, *speed*, *steed*, *feet*, *greet*, *meet*, *sweet*, *beechn*, *breech*, *seek* (33).

9. OE. *īe* is sounded I in *hear*, *shear*, *steel*, *believe*, *sleeve*, *fleece*, *biestings*, *dream*, *teem*, *sheen*, *-teen*, *keep*, *reap*, *steeple*, *heed*, *beetle*, *sheet*, *eke*, *reek* (19).

10. OE. *ēa* is sounded I in *flea*, *bean*, *beam*, *dream*, *gleam*, *seam*, *steam*, *stream*, *team*, *ear*, *near*, *sear*, *tear*, *bereave*, *leaf*, *sheaf*, *east*, *Easter*, *heap*, *leap*, *sleep*, *cheap*, *beat*, *neat*, *cheek*, *leek*, *reek*, *bacon* (28).

11. OE. *ēo* is sounded I in *bee*, *knee*, *fee*, *free*, *glee*, *lea*, *sea*, *tree*, *three*, *beer*, *dear*, *leer*, *driary*, *keel*, *wheel*, *be*, *flee*, *see*, *between*, *fiend*, *cleave*, *liefe*, *thief*, *seethe*, *freeze*, *priest*, *creep*, *deep*, *reed*, *weed*, *beet*, *fleet* (33).

12. OE. *ǣ* is sounded I in *sea*, *bier*, *fear*, *rear*, *eel*, *deal*, *heal*, *meal*, *clean*, *lean*, *mean* (noun), *mean* (verb), *even*, *leave*, *breathe*, *sheath*, *wreath*, *heathen*, *cheese*, *tease*, *sleep*, *sweep*, *deed*, *lead*, *needle*, *read*, *seed*, *greedy*, *weed*, *bleat*, *heat*, *wheat*, *street*, *key*, *bleak*, *bleech*, *each*, *leach*, *reach*, *teach*, *speech* (41).

13. The details and limitations of the use of I for these long vowels have been stated in Anglia, VII, 205, 207, 208, 210, and need not be repeated here.

14. The sound *I* is usually spelled *ee* or *ea*; but *e*, *ie*, and *ey* also occur. It is not possible to explain these variations, but it may be noted that *ee* is used chiefly for OE. *ē*, *īe*, *ēo* (62 times out of 85), other spellings being *e* seven times, of which five are final, the two others being *eke*, *here*; *ea* ten times, twice final, elsewhere before or after *r*, except in *cleave*; *ie* six times, always medial.

For OE. *ēa* and *ē*, on the contrary, the regular spelling is *ea* (50 times out of 69). Other spellings are *ee* 16 times, always medial except in *eel*, *ie* in *bier*, *e* in *even*, and *ey* for OE. *ēg* in *key*.

I. — The sound *ai* is the regular representative of *ī* and *ȳ*, but is used also for *i*, *y*, *eo* and for *ēa*, *ēo*, *īe*.

1. For short vowels. OE. *i* is sounded *ai* as stated in vowels *e* and *i*, § III, A, 4. The NE. words are: *I*, *ivy*, *bright*, *knight*, *might*, *night*, *plight*, *right*, *sight*, *child*, *mild*, *wild*; *bind*, *blind*, *fınd*, *grınd*, *hind*, *hindermost*, *rınd*, *wınd*, *lie*, *hie*, *Friday*, *nine*, *tile*; *Christ*, *climb*; *shire*(?) (28).

OE. *y* is sounded *ai* in *kind*, *mind*, *bight*, *flight*, *wright*, *dry*, *buy*, *lie*, *rye* (9). See § III, C, 2.

OE. *eo* becomes *ai* in *fight*. See Transactions, XVI, p. 152.

By comparing the OE. words it will be seen that *ai* is found for short vowels where *g*, *h* have been absorbed or before *ld*, *nd*. The only other cases are the initial *ivy* and *I* which follow the analogy of *ī*, and *Christ*, *climb*, and the doubtful *shire*.

2. For long vowels. OE. *ī* gives *ai* regularly. See Anglia, VII, 204. The NE. words are *by*, *alight*, *Ireland*, *iron*, *wire*, *file*, *while*, *mile*, *wile*, *rime*, *line*, *rhyme*, *shine*, *time*, *whine*, *mine*, *pine*, *shine*, *shrine*, *swine*, *twine*, *thine*, *wine*, *knife*, *drive*, *five*, *live*, *strive*, *wife*, *blithe*, *lithe*, *writhe*, *ice*, *rise*, *wise*, *gripe*, *ripe*, *bide*, *bridle*, *chide*, *glide*, *idle*, *ride*, *side*, *slide*, *tide*, *wide*, *bite*, *white*, *smite*, *write*, *stye*, *stile*, *dyke*, *like*, *sigh*, *strike* (57).

OE. *ȳ* gives *ai* regularly before single consonants and where final. See Anglia, VII, 205. Cases are: *why*, *fire*, *hire*, *defile*, *-hithe*, *dive*, *lice*, *mice*, *kine*, *hide*, *bide*, *bride*, *pride* (13).

OE. *ēa*, *ēo*, *īe*, when followed by *g* produce *ai* in NE. See Anglia, VII, 206, 4; 207, 4; 209, 4. The NE. words are, for OE. *ēo*: *fly*, *lie*, *light*, *thigh*; for OE. *ēa*: *eye*, *dye*, *high*, *nigh*; for OE. *īe*: *tie*, *tie*, *island*, *height*, *light* (13).

3. The spelling of the sound *ai* is *i* when initial or medial. The only exceptions are *rhyme*, *dyke*, *height*, *eye*. When final, the usual spelling is *ie*, 6 times, but *y* occurs 4 times, *ye* thrice. The word *buy* is peculiar. The *y* stands for OE. *cg* and the silent *u* for the original vowel. OE. *bycgan*, ME. *biggen*, *beggen*, *buggen*, *buil*, *bien*, *beien*. Cp. III, C, 6 and Stratmann Dict., 99.

#### SECTION V. — THE NEW ENGLISH LETTERS.

A. — The letters *au*, *aw* are used in NE. words of OE. origin, as follows always where *h*, *g*, or *w* follows in OE.

For OE. *éah* in *laugh*, *laughter*, *saw* (verb).

For OE. *aw*, *awl*, *claw*; OE. *af*, *hawk*; OE. *ag*, *dawn*, *draw*, *drawn*, *haw*, *gnaw*, *law*, *maw*, *saw* (tool), *saw* (saying).

For OE. *oh* in *daughter*.

For OE. *ēaw* in *raw*, *straw*.

For OE. *tẽh* in *taught*.

For OE. *āw* in *aught* (*naught*), *thaw*.

For OE. *ōg* in *awe*.

Except in *laugh* and *laughter* it is always sounded O<sup>a</sup>.

B. — The letter *o* is used for the OE. vowels *ie*, *éo*, *éa*, *æ*, *o*, *u*, *y*, *ī*, *ēo*, *eā*, *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, and is pronounced *i*, A, O<sup>a</sup>, O, o, *o*<sup>e</sup>, U, u.

For OE. *ie* in *worse*, *work* (verb).

For OE. *éo* in *sword*, *yolk*, *beyond*; *worth*, *work*, *world*.

For OE. *éa* in *bold*, *cold*, *fold*, *hold*, *old*, *sold*, *told*, *begot*.

For OE. *æ* in *clover*.

For OE. *o* in *bore*, *born*, *broth*, *before*, *corn*, *for*, *ford*, *former*, *forth*, *forlorn*, *horn*, *horse*, *morning*, *north*, *port*, *shorn*, *short*, *stork*, *storm*, *sworn*, *thorn*, *torn*; *bode*, *bolster*, *bolt*, *broken*, *chosen*, *cloven*, *colt*, *comb*, *folk*, *frozen*, *gold*, *hole*, *hope*, *hose*, *knoll*, *mote*, *nose*, *open*, *over*, *smoke*, *spoken*, *stolen*, *swollen*, *thole*, *toll*, *yoke*; *body*, *bond*, *borrow*, *bottom*, *cock*, *cockle*, *cod*, *cot*, *crockery*, *flock*, *follow*, *fox*, *frog*, *from*, *frost*, *god*, *hollow*,

*holly, knot, lock, long, lot, morrow, moth, of, off, offer, oft, on, ox, rot, Scotland, shot, smock, sock, sodden, song, sorrow, stock, strong, thong, throng, tongs, trodden, wrong; among, monger; oven, shovel, word; womb.*

For OE. *u* in *knock; come, honey, love, monk, some, son, thorough, tongue, won, wonder; wolf.*

For OE. *y* in *comely, worm, wort.*

For OE. *ī* in *women; woman.*

For OE. *ēo*, changed in ME. to *eō*, in *lose.*

For OE. *ā* (*eā*) in *cloth, gore, lo, lord, lore, more, or, ore, sore, wroth, yore; abode, arose, bone, clothe, dole, drove, fro, ghost, go, grope, home, mole, no, only, pope, rope, so, spoke, stone, stroke, those, token, whole, wrote; anon, gone, holiday, hot, knowledge, not, shone, wedlock, wot; nothing; two, who, whom.*

For OE. *ō* in *swore, whore; awoke, hove; blossom, fodder, foster, gosling, rod, shod, soft; brother, done, doth, glove, Monday, month, mother, other; behove, bosom, do, to.*

For OE. *ū* in *above, dove, neighbor, shove.*

C. — The letters *oa* are used for *ā* and *o*, and have before *r* the sound O<sup>a</sup>, elsewhere the sound O.

For OE. *ā* in *boar, board, hoar, hoarse, oar, roar; boat, foam, goad, goat, groan, loadstone, loaf, loathe, loam, moan, oak, oath, oats, road, soap, toad, woad.* See Anglia, VII, 213.

For OE. *o* in *board, hoard; coal, float, foal, shoal, throat.* See § III, A, 2, 3, and 8.

D. — The letters *oe* occur only when final, with the sound O for OE. *ā*, and the sound U for OE. *ō*.

For OE. *ā* in *doe, foe, roe, sloe, toe, woe.* Anglia, VII, 213.

For OE. *ō* (*eō*) in *shoe*, noun and verb. Anglia, VII, 215.

E. — The letters *oo* are used for OE. *u*, *ēo* (= *eō*), *ā*, *ō*, *ū*; with the sounds O<sup>a</sup>, o<sup>e</sup>, U, *u*. It is common, however, only for *ō*; all other uses are exceptional.

For OE. *u* in *door; groom; wool, wood, and bridegroom.* See § III, B, 8.

For OE. *ā* in the suffix *-hood.* Anglia, VII, 212, 6.

For OE. *ēo* in *choose, shoot.* Here OE. *ēo* = *eō* = *ō*.

For OE. *ō* in *floor; blood, flood; bloom, boor, boot, brood,*

*brook, broom, cool, doom, food, gloom, goose, groove, hoof, mood, moon, moor, noon, rood, roof, roost, smooth, soon, sooth, stool, tool, tooth, woo; book, brook, cook, crook, foot, good, hood, hook, look, rook, shook, stood, took.*

For OE. *ū* in *room; brook* (verb).

F. — The letters *ou* and *ow* are medial and final signs for the same sounds; *ow* occurs medially also in *fowl, shower, bower, owl, brown, down, town, crowd, own*, and in participles such as *sown, blown, shown, flown*. *ou*-final occurs in *thou, you*. The two digraphs will be treated together. They stand for OE. *éa*, *a* (= *o*), *eó*, *o*, *u*, *ēa*, *ēo*, *ā*, and *ō*; and are pronounced *au*, O<sup>a</sup>, O, *o*, *o*<sup>e</sup>, U, *u*. The usual sound is *au*, 44 times, but O occurs 29 times, *o*<sup>a</sup> 13; *o*<sup>e</sup> and U 5 each, *u* 3, and *o* once.

For OE. *éa* in *fought*.

For OE. *o*, *a* = *o* before nasals, and *eó* in *bound, wound; brought, trough, wrought; bow* (noun), *bowl, flown, mould; cough; young; should, would*.

For OE. *u* in *bound, fowl, found, ground, hound, mount, pound, sound, sow* (noun), *wound* (verb); *mourn; shoulder; through, wound* (noun).

For OE. *ēa* in *show, though*.

For OE. *ēo* in *four, fourth, fourteen; you*.

For OE. *ā* (*eā*) in *ought; blow, crow, dough, know, known, low, mow, owe, own, row, slow, snow, soul, sow, sown, throw, thrown*. See *Anglia*, VII, 213.

For OE. *ō* (*eō*) in *bough, plough; brought, sought, thought; blow, flow, grow, low, row; chough, tough, enough; youth*.

For OE. *ū* in *bow, bower, brow, brown, cloud, clout, cow, crowd, down, foul, house, bow, loud, louse, lout, mouse, mouth, now, our, out, owl, proud, shower, shroud, sour, south, thou, thousand, town; rough; uncouth; could*.

G. — The letter *u*<sup>1</sup> is used for OE. *u* 45 times, *y* 11, *éó* 4,

<sup>1</sup> The combinations *ua* and *ui* (*uy*) are not vowel groups, but in these cases the *u* is either a consonant, as before *g* in French words, e.g., *quart*, or a phonetic sign as in *guild*, or extraneous and redundant as in *build*. All such words are regarded as having *a* and *i*, and are classed among those words. On *buy*, cp. § IV, I, 3.

*o* 4, *i* 3, *ū* 8, *ēo* 2, *ō* 3, *ē* 1, and is pronounced *o<sup>e</sup>* in all cases except *bury*; *ruth*, *truth*, *yule*; *full*, *bullock*. See *e<sup>a</sup>*, U, *u*. Transactions, XVI, p. 159, and § IV, F, 5, G, ad init., and E, 16.

For OE. *i* in *much*, *run*, *such*.

For OE. *éo* in *burn*, *burst*, *churl*, *spurn*.

For OE. *o* in *burst* (participle), *dull*, *durst*, *murder*.

For OE. *u* in *buck*, *borough*, *butter*, *clung*, *crumb*, *cunning*, *cup*, *curse*, *drunk*, *dumb*, *dun*, *dust*, *furrow*, *further*, *gut*, *hundred*, *hunger*, *hunt*, *lust*, *knuckle*, *run*, *nut*, *pluck*, *rung*, *rust*, *shun*, *slumber*, *spun*, *stunt*, *summer*, *sun*, *sunder*, *sung*, *sunk*, *swum*, *thunder*, *Thursday*, *thus*, *tun*, *turf*, *tusk*, *under*, *up*; *bullock*, *full*. See § III, B, 8.

For OE. *y* in *bury*; *bundle*, *burden*, *bury*, *church*, *cluster*, *crutch*, *furze*, *murky*, *shut*, *shuttle*. See § III, C, 5.

For OE. *ē* in *hung*. See Anglia, VII, 206, 6.

For OE. *ēo* in *ruth*, *truth*. See Anglia, VII, 209, 11.

For OE. *ō* and *eō* in *gum*, *must*; *yule*. See Anglia, VII, 215.

For OE. *ū* in *but*, *husband*, *scum*, *suck*, *thumb*, *udder*, *us*, *utterly*. See Anglia, VII, 216.

H.—The letters *ue* are used for OE. *ēow*, and have the sound U. The more usual spelling is *ew*. See Anglia, VII, 208, 2. The NE. words are *hue*, *rue*, *true*, *Tuesday*.